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50. The International Progress Organization urged that the international community should be alerted and reminded of its collective responsibility for putting an end to the gross human rights violations being committed in the former Yugoslavia. Only if swift and decisive action were taken in defence of the innocent victims of that brutal war could the credibility of the United Nations be preserved.

51. Ms. SALIMI (International Falcon Movement-Socialist Educational International) drew the Sub-Commission's attention to the ongoing unprecedented human rights violations in the Islamic Republic of Iran. The current wave of mass arrests and executions was reminiscent of the genocidal executions of 1988, when hundreds of protesters had been arrested and more than 20,000 political prisoners executed. In such circumstances, it was impossible to ensure a safe future for children, which was her organization's particular concern.

52. Since January 1992, the world media had reported hundreds of anti-Government demonstrations in Iranian cities. The mullahs had reacted by stepping up the repression. Thousands had been arrested and many executed in the cities of Mashhad, Shiraz and Arák. Among those executed had been political activists and supporters of the People's Mujahidin Organization. The 13 June 1992 issue of The Economist had reported that on 10 June, four men had been hanged in Mashhad and four had been hanged and five others sentenced to death the next day for their part in the riots in Shiraz.

53. The Iranian leaders had given instructions to step up the repression. According to a report of the Associated Press of 1 June 1992, the heavily censored Iranian newspapers had been making oblique references to demonstrations in which 2,000 to 3,000 people had reportedly been arrested. In July 1992, more than 500 newly established anti-riot battalions had held urban manoeuvres in cities. Commenting on those manoeuvres, the Associated Press on 18 July 1992 had recounted that thousands of paramilitary troops had marched through Tehran and other cities as a warning that further protests would be ruthlessly crushed.

54. The regime had been staging a brutal crack down on Iranian women, systematically imposing floggings, arrests and stonings. Recently, the mullahs had adopted new harassment tactics, using local paramilitary forces to attack women in the streets. According to a report in the newspaper Jomhouri Islami of 2 August 1992, 113,000 women had been arrested the previous year and charged with being improperly dressed and spreading moral corruption.

55. Such brutal treatment must surely arouse the concern of the international community about the human rights violations being committed against the Iranian people. Her organization urged the Sub-Commission to adopt a strongly-worded resolution condemning such violations of human rights.

56. Mr. MUHARAM (Liberation) drew attention to three territories - Aceh, West Papua and East Timor - where people were waging liberation struggles against Indonesian rule and which the Indonesian authorities recognized as being under threat from "separatist movements", which they branded as "security disrupter gangs". The army chief-of-staff had called for a concerted push to wipe out militant separatists as an obstacle to economic development.

57. The Indonesian Government's strategy against these liberation movements was basically threefold: army operations against armed movements resisting Indonesian rule, intimidation of the civilian population, and trials of sympathizers, in most cases under the Anti-Subversion Act. The army was responsible for numerous killings and disappearances, and because the authorities prevented the foreign press and independent observers from entering the three areas, such crimes went on largely unreported. The trials were intended to create the impression that "separatists" and their supporters were treated according to due process. The Anti-Subversion Act continued to be used in dozens of cases, despite the recommendation of the Commission's Special Rapporteur on torture that it be repealed because its definition of subversion was "broad and loose". As the Special Rapporteur had stated, it was not necessary that the acts concerned had actually had the effect of endangering security; it was sufficient that they might have had that effect. It was therefore no wonder that trials for subversion never resulted in acquittals and that the sentences imposed were savage in the extreme.

58. The human rights situation in Aceh was extremely serious. The Sub-Commission had already received a number of complaints over the past two years, but the United Nations had taken no action. The Commission's Special Rapporteur on torture had been refused permission to visit Aceh when he had been in Indonesia in November 1991. According to the most conservative estimates, at least 2,000 persons had been killed during army operations between 1989 and 1991, although the death toll might be 10 times that figure. Liberation appealed to the Sub-Commission to insist that the Indonesian authorities allow members of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances to visit Aceh without delay.

59. There had been at least 40 trials for subversion in Aceh in the past year or so, involving people from all layers of society. Heavy sentences had been imposed. The trials had been analysed at length by the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute in a report entitled Summary of the Results of Trial Observations in Aceh, which had recently been banned by the Indonesian Attorney-General.

60. In West Papua there had been many reports of army operations against guerrilla units operating near the border with Papua New Guinea. Some operations had come to light largely because they had involved illegal incursions by Indonesian troops across the border into Papua New Guinea, where villagers had been left frightened and angry. There had been no independent investigation of army killings in West Papua, making it difficult to estimate the scale of atrocities. Neither had there been any investigation into the death of the Free Papua Movement leader who had been found dead after allegedly escaping from prison. There were more West Papuans serving sentences for subversion than any group in Indonesia. According to a very reliable source, no fewer than 129 West Papuans had been tried in the past few years under the Anti-Subversion Act for supporting movements rejecting Indonesian rule. Nearly 80 of them were serving their sentences far from home; 28 were serving sentences of 10 years or more.

61. In East Timor, the killing of up to 200 peaceful demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in November 1991 had drawn attention as never before to the killer practices of the Indonesian occupation forces. For years Liberation had called the attention of the Commission and the Sub-Commission

to massacres in East Timor, many of them on a far larger scale than that which had occurred in November 1991, which only the presence of foreign journalists had imprinted on to the world's conscience. There could be little doubt that the international outcry had forced the Indonesian authorities to limit the number of East Timorese tried in the wake of the massacre. Nevertheless, some had received heavy sentences. The Sub-Commission had a duty to censure Indonesia for proceeding with those trials in violation of the undertaking given in the consensus statement of the President of the Commission on 4 March, countersigned by the Indonesian Mission, which indicated that those not involved in violent activities were to be released without delay.

62. International investigation teams, the Special Rapporteur on torture and the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary and arbitrary executions should visit the three territories where the Indonesian authorities had imposed systems of colonial rule. The killings and endless trials for subversion could not be allowed to continue. Liberation urged the Sub-Commission to monitor human rights violations in those three territories and to take concrete action to put an end to the violence and terror.

63. Ms. CHAVEZ recalled that at a previous meeting Mr. Merrills had suggested that the Sub-Commission should try to classify human rights abuses and had offered a framework for doing so; Mr. Eide had offered similar suggestions. Her own framework would be as follows.

64. First, some violations of human rights were clearly committed by individuals acting on their own. Indeed, the creation of civilized society had in part been motivated by an effort to adopt and administer laws to deal with such offences. Second, abuses could be committed by indivuals who were in positions of authority within a Government; they might be acting on their own or they might be acting in complicity with the Government. In the former case those involved could usually be dealt with through criminal or civil procedures. The latter case required greater scrutiny and care to determine whether the abuse was part of a pattern or even a policy of the Government in question. The important point was that there should be institutions and procedures in place to deal with such abuses. A third and particularly heinous form of human rights abuse were the abuses that were practised as part of the policy of a Government in order to intimidate its people or any part thereof. In recent years some encouraging changes had occurred in the former USSR, eastern Europe, Latin American, Asia and Africa, but unfortunately the latter form of human rights abuse was still to be found. Totalitarian systems still existed in Cuba, North Korea and Iran, where religion had been perverted into an instrument of persecution.

65. It was not surprising that regimes which maintained power without the consent of the people eventually abused that people. China, now the oldest communist dictatorship in the world, was a case in point. Recent years had brought hope that liberalization would bring greater freedom. To a limited extent it had done so, in the economic sphere. That was an important first step, but it was not enough: nowhere were full bellies all that it took to satisfy the human urge for justice. Everyone was aware of the tremendous violations of human rights in Tiananmen Square in 1989 and their aftermath. Serious abuses of basic human rights were continuing, although more discreetly. Credible allegations of torture had been reported. At present

some 55 offences, including offences of a purely political nature, carried the death penalty, and executions occurred without what would be recognized by international standards as a fair trial. There was also evidence that hundreds of thousands of people - and, in one estimate by the United States Government, 1.5 million - were imprisoned in forced labour camps. It was therefore of special concern that goods produced under conditions of forced labour should not find their way on to consumer markets; nowhere should unwitting customers subsidize such inhumane practices. China was by no means the only country that abused its own people, but, because it was so large and populous, the Sub-Commission must be specially concerned about human rights violations there.

66. Mr. Eide and others had drawn attention to another form of systematic violations of human rights - those perpetrated by so-called liberation movements. Shining Path was one of the most notorious but by no means the only group of that kind. Several such organizations had terrorized the Middle East and elsewhere. Not only had lives been lost, but scarce resources had had to be diverted to provide security. Some organizations that practised terrorism were supported by Governments, which also gave asylum to them. It was important to find solutions to avoid repeating the past. Terrorism, whether it was practised by a Government against its own people or by individuals and organizations, must be condemned in the most vigorous terms. She hoped that the Middle East peace talks due to take place later in the month would lead to an end, or at least to a diminution, of further violence in that region.

67. Ms. BARRETO DOS SANTOS (Defence for Children International) drew attention to the tragedy in East Timor and appealed for justice and protection of human rights, which had been trampled on there since 7 December 1975. Children and young people had become the primary target of the occupation forces, following the death of 200,000 people - about one third of the population - during the first decade after the invasion. The most horrifying atrocities had taken place, representing a systematic violation of human rights of which only a small part filtered out because of the tight control and isolation of the half island.

68. On 12 November 1991 an international community that had been indifferent for too long had been jolted into reality. On that day nearly 900 Timorese had been killed, arrested or wounded or had disappeared, 24 per cent of them children. Nine months after the massacre of Santa Cruz there was no indication of the names of the victims, the bodies had not been given back to their families, the burial places had not been identified and there was no news of the missing persons. However, the most detailed survey carried out so far confirmed that 64 children had been murdered by the occupation forces.

69. The Convention on the Rights of the Child demanded for each child happiness, love and understanding. It forbade torture, physical and mental violence, mistreatment and negligence. It encouraged the preparation of the child for a responsible life in a free society, in a spirit of peace, of tolerance and of respect for human rights. The situation prevailing in East Timor stood in stark contrast with those goals, despite Indonesia's ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The colonial repression against children and youth had produced a spiral of violence with

no end in sight. The East Timorese people wanted peace restored to their homeland and therefore reiterated their commitment to cooperate with all parties concerned, under United Nations auspices, to put an end to the human rights violations in East Timor.

70. Mr. Chernichenko took the Chair.

71. Mr. AL-ATTAR (Arab Lawyers Union) said that a large number of territories had achieved self-determination in the past four decades but Palestine was still denied that right. Israel continued to occupy the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in defiance of United Nations resolutions. Serious violations of human rights were occurring there. The Israeli authorities had even opened fire on children, and many of them had been killed or wounded. Secret units assassinated Palestinians, many of whom had been tortured in prison. Collective punishments such as the demolition of houses and the cutting-off of electricity supplies had taken place. Palestinians had been exiled, land had been confiscated, and Jewish settlements had been established. The Israeli authorities must apply the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Jewish immigration continued, especially from the former USSR. Unemployment among Palestinans was much higher than that among Jews, who were generally better treated. The Arab Lawyers Union urged all parties present to press for the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions and to protect Palestinians against arbitrary acts.

72. In Lebanon, Israel was refusing to comply with Security Council resolutions, was kidnapping individuals, and was launching air raids on several parts of the country. Human rights violations were still taking place in the Golan Heights.

73. In other Arab countries the major obstacle to the enjoyment of human rights was the lack of democracy. In most Gulf countries political parties and trade unions were not allowed to operate. In Algeria the victory of the opposition had led to its dissolution and to the imposition of sentences by military courts that were not independent. In Tunisia the authorities refused permission for the formation of popular political parties and there were many cases of arbitrary arrest and torture. In Somalia many people were being killed and injured. In Iraq the people had paid a heavy price for the war and the economic embargo. Political parties should be given freedom and free elections should be held. In Sudan political parties had been dissolved and restrictions had been placed on trade unions and the press. Complaints of torture had been received.

74. Ms. de VLAMING (World University Service) drew attention to violations of the human rights of academics, students and others involved in the educational sector. In the Sudan, the university and school systems had been severely affected since 1989 by the consequences of the regime's fundamentalist ideology, with university professors and students dismissed, arrested, tortured and killed for purely ideological reasons. Student and faculty associations had been banned, university campuses had been occupied by security forces, and several organizations had expressed concern about the so-called "Islamization" of school and university curricula, which excluded a significant portion of the southern Sudanese population from university education. Protests against that situation had led to the dismissal of staff, the closing of schools and